2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

herents of these cults, female slaves and former slaves for the most part, followed a lengthy routine to become practitioners in the various cult houses and spent large sums of money, according to legend, on the required bracelets, necklaces, and clothing.

Today, however, the cult priests and priestesses have the same complaint as the Catholic priests. They say that young people no longer have the understanding or the patience necessary to prepare for devotion in the cult houses. The older priestesses deplore the degeneration of some of these houses and the admission of Indian spirits, which are now displacing the African gods.

Spiritualism has recently entered the community. So far it has been limited to few people in the community, although it is very popular in Salvador.

The use of the supernatural as described in Willems' Cunha[1] does not take place in Vila Recôncavo. In Cunha the saints are asked to send rain whenever it appears that the crops are in danger. But in Vila Recôncavo, which lies in a semitropical rain area, there is no need for such invocations. Besides, these are large-scale economic crops, not subsistence produce on which the people depend directly for their living.

The Catholic Church in Vila Recôncavo

During the colonial period each religious parish was carefully delineated and conserved, but later political divisions cut across parish lines. This has made the use of colonial statistics very difficult. During colonial and empire times the church was the main census organ, but since parishes and counties do not coincide in their outlines the statistics are little help today in comparing the present with the past. Each parish built a mother church (matriz) in the parish town. Each of these churches had a patron saint, who was also the patron of the parish, and a resident priest or priests.

In the town of Vila Recôncavo, the county seat, a mother church was built, with São Gonçalo as its patron saint; also constructed was the Franciscan convent, connected with an opulent Third Order. As the Recôncavo entered its long per-

1. Emilio Willems, Cunha: Tradição e transição en uma cultura rural do Brasil (Sao Paulo, 1947), Chapter 7.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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1933 when two women took the scapular and cord. But nothing more came of it. There is a benevolent organization, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, which gives aid to the poor and is run by three men of Class B. It is very weak, however, and at present can help only four persons in the town. The society conducts no festivals or public displays.

Festivals

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The festivals which take place in Vila Recôncavo are based on the religious calendar and are participated in to a great extent by the African cult members. January 1 is an important date in town and is celebrated by a Mass in the fishermen's chapel, after which the priest goes out on the beach and blesses all the canoes. After he has gone, the participants in African cults make their offering for the day. This is the date when presents are given to the Mother of Waters (Mae d'Agua locally, but sometimes known as Janaina, Sereia, or Yansan in other parts of Brazil). The presentations are made by the cult priestesses, but anyone who wants to give a present to the Mother of Waters may do so by handing the gift to the cult priestess beforehand. The presents may consist of money or of anything a woman can use, as long as it is white: combs, ribbons, powders, perfumes, soaps, flowers, and so on. Everything is wrapped together and placed in a large clay basin covered with white cloths and decked with white flowers.

The cult priestess comes out of the cult house after Mass and, accompanied by participants and onlookers, goes down to the beach and enters one of the large canoes prepared for the occasion. The cult drummers accompany her, as well as most of the female devotees (filhas de santo). Usually two presents are given, one to the young Mother of Waters, who lives near the town, and another, larger one to the old Mother of Waters, who lives at about an hour's distance from town, where the water is very deep. The canoes take off and proceed up the river, while the drums beat and the devotees sing. The Mother of Waters is called and praised, and when the canoes arrive where the younger one lives, her present is lowered into the water. If it does not sink it is a very bad sign, for it means that the present was rejected. The bundles usually sink, however, for they are bound in a heavy clay basin.
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At this moment the Mother of Waters is supposed to enter the body of the person who placed the gift in the water. This person, usually an older devotee, enters a trance state and must

2t Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

be held in the canoe by the others, for she tries to jump into the water. At the same time, all those present in the canoe scoop up the water and pour it over themselves, for it is at this moment quite holy. The possessed person is gradually calmed and brought back to a normal state as the canoes move up the river.

During this time, groups of fishermen often go out in their newly blessed canoes (canoas de bordejo) to play. Because their canoes have been blessed by the priest, and because of the holy aspect of the water resulting from the presence of the Mother of the Waters, the men may enter the water without fear, so they jump in and out of the water and swim around their canoes until they are tired. This cannot be done at any other time of the year for it is not considered safe to enter deep water.

After the second gift has been offered and accepted, the party lands and goes back to town on foot in a spirit of great joy and gaiety. The rest of the day is given over to horse racing, visiting, gaming, and dancing on the fishermen's square. People from classes A and B do not participate in these proceedings, which they consider barbarous. But most lower-class people at least watch, although only participants enter the canoes. Observers walk along the banks and watch. Cults from the rural areas make their own presentations separately, frequently on Christmas Day and in another locale.

The next festival in the year comes after January 6, the Day of Kings, which has already been mentioned. Parties take place from this day until the beginning of Lent. Other than a Mass, there is no longer much sanctity connected to this day.

The most important festival of the year is that of Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia, the patron saint of most of the fishermen, to whom their chapel is dedicated. This festival begins on January 13 and starts off each evening with a novena held in the fishermen's chapel. The priest goes each evening for the novena, and, on the three last days of the festival, each morning, to celebrate Mass in honor of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, St. Peter, and St. John. A committee is organized in the chapel to ask patrons for contributions to the festival, for candles, oils, electric light, and to pay the priest each night. Flowers are a very important part of the festival, although at this time of the year they are very expensive. Each night of the novena there is a different group of patrons, and

VILA RECÔNCAVO

among members of Class A. In the cult houses it is said that the African gods go back to Africa for Lent and that the Indian spirits go back to the forests, not coming back again to Vila Recôncavo until Easter Eve. Good Friday is usually marked by the eating of foods with much palm and olive oil, mostly the favorite Bahian dishes of acarajé and vatapá. On Saturday some people in the town "burn Judas." They make a figure stuffed with straw or grass and in the evening parade it through the whole town on a donkey until they arrive at the fishermen's chapel, where the dummy is strung up and burned. While it burns the man who made it reads a long poem which he has composed during the year and which tells about his friends and their individual peculiarities.

During the month of May a service is held each night in the mother church in honor of the Virgin Mary. A priest officiates, and the women of the upper class sing in the choir. This ceremony is attended almost entirely by townspeople, mostly women. St. John's Day, which comes at the end of June and is a popular holiday throughout most of Brazil, goes unnoticed in the town, although at dawn on that day there may be a reveille for St. John (alvorada de São João), which consists of shouting, "Wake up, St. John!" The sixteenth of August is celebrated, mostly by the rural people, as the day of St. Roch, who is considered a foe of pestilence. There is usually a Mass in the mother church on this day, after which the priest conducts Mass in as many of the rural chapels as he can. St. Roch is also celebrated by the African cults.

On September 27, the twin saints Cosme and Damião are celebrated, often with a Mass, but especially with a party called the carurú, the dish distinctive of this day and the days which follow it; for, as with the Day of Kings, Cosme and Damião may be feted any day within a month or so following the proper date. Before a carurú, it is customary for small images of the two saints to be carried about the streets from house to house asking for alms for a party in their honor. Usually the party is for the children, who dance and eat as much as they can, while the older people at first look on, and then finish up the food that was left and also dance. Anyone who is a twin or who likes twins may give a carurú in his house.

St. Francis is also feted, since there is a Franciscan convent in the town, by a devotion on three nights and a Mass on the morning of St. Francis' day. The last Sunday in October,

2i Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1961) 1967 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

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the day of Christ the King, there is always a procession in town which starts from the mother church and goes to a small altar set up in front of the County Hall, then to the fishermen's chapel, to a cross which stands in one of the squares, and back to the convent and church. A few people set their small household oratories in the street in front of their houses to be blessed by the priest as he passes. This procession is accompanied mostly by women of all classes, although the canopy over the Host is carried by men from Class B. Christmas is observed quietly except for the exchange of gifts.

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Prayers

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Prayers are very popular throughout the year among the women of classes C and D. For a variety of reasons a group of women will get together in the house of one of them and pray aloud, standing before the little decorated niche which contains a picture or figure of the household saint. The one who knows the prayer best leads the others. A group may pray on the evening before the day of the patron saint of one of them, especially if they have been unable to have a Mass said because of the lack of money or a previous commitment of the priest. At times they pray because someone has promised his patron saint that he would do so if he were cured of an illness.

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Strangely, perhaps, the fishermen never seem to feel a need for supernatural help to overcome bad weather or lack of fish. A few of them, however, give a present to the Mother of the Waters in thanks for an exceptionally fine catch. At other times, people simply pray to their patron saints if they cannot have a party in their honor. Personal patron saints, however, do not play a very important part in the lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo, although nearly everyone has one and has at least a picture of the saint on the wall. It is common to find women who belong to an African cult group praying at these nightly gatherings in honor of the various saints who may or may not be represented in their cult houses.

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Exceptional fatigue, light illness, and pains may all be caused by the evil eye, and are removed by having a woman pray over the victim. There are several women in town who can make such prayers particularly well; however, they do not pray as a group. A woman goes to the house of the victim and, with a piece of thread in her hand which she passes over the body of the victim, says the Lord's Prayer and the

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA REC[illegible]CAVO

794 who never miss a Mass, benediction, or prayer. By means of a questionnaire in the town and the rural area, the following 125 data were obtained concerning the average frequency of church 794 attendance per year for men and women over fourteen years *565 of age:
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TABLE 11
FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Urban Number of times per year		Class	Rural Number of times per year	
Males	Females		Males	Females
		A	19	23
40	96	B	4	3
17	25	C	3	3
4	41	D		

369 Several things are shown by this table. First, the higher a 794 man's social position, the more often he goes to church, at *565 least in classes B, C, and D. Second, the frequency of atten- [554] dance by the women of all classes is considerably greater than that of the men. Third, the women of Class A attend church fewer times per year than do the women of classes B, C, and D of the urban area. Fourth, there are great differences in the rural and urban attendance: people from the plantations seldom go to town for Mass, preferring to wait for some special plantation occasion when the priest will go to the plantation. The difference between the attendance frequencies of Class A and Classes B and C of the rural zone is due to the time that Class A spends in Salvador, where members often attend Sunday Mass, as well as family Masses.

794 777 776 African Cults

Brazilian candomblé is usually thought of as a syncretism between African cultism and Catholicism. There has been a partial identification of the African deities with Catholic saints. For example, Ôgún, the African god of war, has been identified with St. Anthony; Ôxóssi, deity of the hunt, with St. George; Ômolú, the god of pestilence, with St. Roch; Êxu, the trickster, with Satan; Yansan, with St. Barbara; and Xangô, with either St. Jerome or St. Barbara. There has been

2t Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

VILA RECÔNCAVO

some confusion in the minds of the cultists themselves as to exactly which saint an African spirit represents, and there often are slight differences in interpretation which do not, however, upset the cult practices to any great extent. Cultism in Brazil has been described in detail by Nina Rodrigues,[3] Arthur Ramos,[4] and Edison Carneiro,[5] and by the Americans Donald Pierson[6] and Ruth Landes,[7] all of whom concentrated on cultism in the city of Salvador; Eduardo Octavio da Costa[8] has good material on urban-rural cultism in Maranhão (northern Brazil). In Vila Recôncavo the syncretisms are being forgotten as the content of cults changes from African spirits to the Indian spirits, for which no identification is made with the Catholic saints.

Cultism apparently got its start in Bahia in the early nineteenth century. Carneiro[9] sets the date for the establishment of the first cult house in the city as 1838. Old people in Vila Recôncavo do not remember cultism beyond two generations ago. There is one woman in town who is in her late nineties and who only remembers hearing of her mother and her mother's generation as active in cults. Apparently the force of cultism increased with the decrease in Catholic proselytization, as the number of priests in the rural areas diminished. It also increased in tempo with the manumission of slaves, and apparently was one of the institutions through which former slaves bought the freedom of other slaves.

Today the cults of the rural area are far less elaborate than those in the city of Salvador, although it seems that even in the city, cultism is showing the same general trend toward disintegration which is so strongly apparent in the rural area. In both places there is a shift away from African ritual to practices connected with the Indian spirits, whose demands

3. Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, O animismo fetichista dos negros bahianos (Rio de Janeiro, 1935).

4. Arthur Ramos, O negro brasileiro (2nd ed.; São Paulo, 1940).

5. Edison Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, (Publicações do Museu do Estado, No. 8 [Bahia, 1948]).

6. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil (Chicago, 1942).

7. Ruth Landes, The City of Women (New York, 1947).

8. Octavio da Costa Eduardo, The Negro in Northern Brazil (New York, 1948).

9. Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, p. 31.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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[778] to do with cultism. His parents were strongly opposed to cultism and had told him that it was bad. But the next day the stone was back in his house, frightening him. He again threw it away, and again it reappeared in his house. Then he took it to the cult leader on the plantation, who told him that it was
[782] a sign that he had an obligation to fulfill toward the gods. To put an end to the matter, it was necessary to make certain appeasements in the form of food and drink. So he began to save money, and at the same time took instruction from the woman as to what to do. During this time he became genuinely interested in cultism and became the "most curious"
[428] of the woman's disciples. He studied for many years with her and did as much as he could in the ceremonies. When she died
[765] she left the house to him, as he was the most active among her followers. After he had observed the honorary period of a year after her death and had properly dispatched her saints, he moved into the house where he has now been leader for
[578] thirteen years. Because of jealousies and fights over the inheritance, many of the devotees broke away and went to other houses, taking their saints with them.

793 Three years after he had taken over the house, he had his
794 first experience with the Indian spirit Seven Stars, who came
787 to him in a dream and let it be known that he wanted to enter
177 the man and become part of the cult. For some time the man resisted, for the cult was traditionally Nagó and the former leader would have had nothing to do with Indian spirits. Seven Stars, however, threatened him with extinction if he did not comply, so in the end he gave in, and one night during a ceremony was possessed by Seven Stars. Everyone liked Seven Stars, because he was a very happy and gay spirit and danced well. After this many other devotees in the house were also possessed by this as well as by one or two other Indian spirits, neither of which, however, was considered as nice as Seven Stars.

794 According to dogma, there are twenty-one Indian spirits,
787 although the informant could not name them all and neither
177 could anyone else. All twenty-one live in an aldeia (village) in the woods. There was nothing in the African tradition to tell
[776] what preparation was necessary for these spirits, so the entire ritual became one of inventiveness and propitiousness. Nowadays young people who enter the cults are nearly always taken by an Indian spirit and are much pleased, for these spirits involve less expense and much less work. The major com-

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[787] santo, which means literally "daughter (or son) of the saint." They prefer to refer to a person as "having a saint" (tem santo) which indicates that he has an obligation toward one of the saints and becomes possessed by him. In ordinary speech the word "saint" is used, but once the person has "made his saint" --that is, has gone through the preparatory rites and has learned the cries and dances of the divinity and how to care for him properly--it is said that the person has Ômolú, or Sete Estrelas (Seven Stars).

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•776 Because most of the women, and the few men in the cults, cannot spend a year segregated in the cult house in order to "make their saint," they continue for many years in the half-way condition of someone who "has a saint but has not yet made the saint." This means that the person has experienced possession, and that it has been determined by the zelador that he is under obligation to a certain saint and is in the process of "making the saint." During this period of simply "having the saint," the person has to carry out certain duties such as feeding the saint, making the proper clothes, and buying the beads and other outer symbols of the deity which are to be used during the ceremonies. This involves considerable expenditure. The clothes are always made of silk, since nothing is [511] too good for the saint. Today, lipstick, perfume, and cheap jewelry are competing for the few extra cents the girls have, so that it takes longer and longer to get the necessary items together. During this period, the obligations of dancing and possession are less strenuous. In the case of the Indian spirits, the deity often speaks through the person after one or two possessions, and this is taken to mean that the spirit is firmly upon the person and may be considered "made." In this fashion much arduous work is avoided, as well as considerable expense. This is a major reason for the growing popularity of the Indian saints, in addition to the fact that they are gayer.

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[465] The drummers also like Indian saints, for, after they have danced, the Indian spirits usually take up a collection which is presented to the drummers for having played so well for them. The drummers are drawn from men whose wives participate in the activities, or else they are men who are interested in the proceedings and who like to drum. They learn the drumming early in their lives, listening to it as children when they go to watch the ceremonies. On nights when the drums are playing it is impossible for anyone not to hear the impos-

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then the drums are calling the other saints, the circle has been formed again, and the process is repeated. This goes on frequently all night long, ending only with the dawn. The rural cult house has a general ceremony for all the saints of the house during the New Year holiday, and it often takes three or four days and nights of continuous dancing and drumming for all the participants to "fulfill their obligations." Activities cease for a while during the day while everyone rests, and then pick up again late in the afternoon.

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The general rule is that the person who "has a saint" must fulfill his obligations to that spirit at least once a year, if possible on the saint's day. Of course, the proper foods must be supplied constantly throughout the year, but at least once a year the saint must be feted, that is, called to possess the person and dance. The general term used for the ceremony is bater (to beat, referring to the drums), although several other euphemisms are used, such as, "We are going to have a party," or, "We are going to play." If the person is unable to fete the saint on the specified day, however, he must do it at the general ceremony at the end of the year. Not to comply with the rituals would be disastrous. The zelador of the house always fetes his saint on the proper day as well as at the end of the year. In both active cult houses the zeladores have more than one saint and try to fete each on the specified date. All participants keep the symbolic paraphernalia of their saints in the cult house and look after them personally if possible, but for many of them who live far from the house the zelador does this. In many cases a person who "has a saint" has a miniature pegi in his own house and also keeps there the proper foods and drinks. In some cases an older woman may even have a ceremony in her home if she can afford the requisite sacrificial animals and foods.

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Membership in the cults is not always passed down from parents to children. Many of the younger participants have come into the cults on their own and may be children of families which are unsympathetic to cult activities. When a mother belongs to a cult, her children may be indoctrinated in the rituals because of their continued attendance at the ceremonies. But unless the children feel the call themselves, no pressure is applied upon them to enter the activities, though they may always participate vicariously in the ceremonies. The majority of the population say they have nothing to do with the cults and are ignorant of the ritual. But few members of

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 5011 Bahia Brazilians 5011
VILA RECÔNCAVO

the lower classes fail to have at least some knowledge of the ceremonial. In a region where there is little entertainment, such as in the town of Vila Recôncavo and especially in the rural area, the cults provide a major spectator activity, and those who have been exposed to it through their lives appreciate it as such. The number of active participants, however, is small. The house which is functioning in the town has about two dozen initiates, while the rural house is somewhat larger, having about forty-five devotees, only seven of whom are drawn from the plantation on which the house is situated. The rural house is more active for several reasons, according to local informants: the costumes are prettier, and therefore people prefer to dance there; the cult leader is a stronger personality and a better healer than the leader of the town house. The rural house is also more conveniently located for people from the surrounding plantations. Nevertheless, the small number of participants is indicative of the weakness of the institution in this area as a whole.

Healing, however, does play an important part in the cult activities, for the zelador who has "made his saint" has usually learned a large number of ritual and herbal cures. In fact, it is the healing aspect which brings most people to the cult activities. Sick persons, however, generally prefer to entrust themselves first to the ministrations of the plantation owner, plantation nurse, or town doctor. But if they feel they are not being helped, they turn to the cult house. If the sickness is diagnosed by the cult leader as a clear sign that the person is in contact with a spirit, the patient must enter the rites as an initiate or suffer the consequences. But for the ordinary run of headaches, stomach troubles, and skin eruptions, the cult leader draws upon his knowledge of herbal remedies. This knowledge is supposed to come from his deity, who often is St. Roch in this area, and who knows the cure. In fact, the leader of the rural house once compared his establishment with a pharmacy. He is paid for these medical services. Often one hears a person wishing that he could "have" such-and-such a saint so he would know how to cure and be able to make money, as do the cult leaders.

It is a general opinion that cult leaders are financially well off, although they themselves staunchly declare that they are not and that they must live from alms. As a rule all the participants in a house are obliged to contribute to the ceremonial honoring the leader's deity, which is usually the most extravagant ceremonial of the house.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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er of the Waters. Naturally, in such a small group, the secret is not very well kept and it is soon known who has sent a present, why, and when. Many people in this group, and some in Class A, entertain the fear that they may become themselves possessed by a deity, especially if they expose themselves to cult activities during a ceremony, and for this reason they do not attend the rituals. To a certain extent this fear is the basis for the protest many of them make against night-long drumming, although the common complaint is that they cannot sleep because of the noise. The sound of the drums at night is very impressive, and no one is unaware that nearby the supernatural is being called. It is very disturbing to those who do not understand the mechanics of the ceremonies and the meaning of the drumming and sacrifices.

Spiritualism

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Spiritualism, which does not use drums, is as disturbing as cultism to people of all classes, although because of its quieter character it is not always known when a session is taking place. Spiritualism seems to be gaining popularity in the area, although it is greatly feared by many people. It is slowly gaining adherents, however, because of the healing powers exhibited by the mediums. In most cases people are drawn to it, both in the town and in the rural area, through illness and the promise of a cure. Because of lack of aid from the doctor, or because of the expense of medical treatment, or perhaps because of the failure of the African cult to cure him, a patient may try spiritualism as a last resort. For those who are helped by it, it becomes a constant companion, and although they may have entered with fear, they soon lose it. They become staunch defenders and try to draw in their friends. The greatest successes in curing seem to follow the herbal treatments of the African cultists, but spiritualism requires no further obligations, as do the cults. It is common to hear someone say that attendance at a spiritualist seance cured him of some minor ailment and left him free of obligations, and that he did not even have to pay the medium. Spiritualism is also used to discover and counteract the evil eye and evil machinations of any enemy. In spiritualism one finds the same Indian spirits which are found in the local African cults, although no dancing is involved. There is now definite competition between the mediums and the cult leaders for adherents.

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Traditionally the preto is linked with ignorance and superstition, and a most common example of his 'ignorance', cited by the upper strata of Vila Recôncavo society, is his belief in *candomblé*, the fetish cults of African origin so numerous in Salvador which have been described by various authors.[8] In the Caribbean, *candomblé* is known as voodoo and, as in Brazil, there is a mixture of Roman Catholic with African religious elements. In Vila Recôncavo there are highly complicated rituals of ceremony and healing, but owing to the pressures of modern life almost no one has the time necessary to spend in the full preparation for a *filha de santo* (servant of the god) or a *mãe de santo* (caretaker of the gods) and much of the old ritual is being forgotten and discarded, and newer and simpler innovations are in evidence. Another example given of the *preto's* 'superstition' in Vila Recôncavo is his participation in the cult of Janaina, the goddess of the water. This cult is really an offshoot of *candomblé*, Yemanja being the name of the African *orixa* or divinity, while Janaina is the name given to her by many of the cults in Brazil. It is Janaina 'who sends the fish to the fishermen', and they must thank her and give her gifts occasionally. Generally it is the *mãe de santo* who knows all the calls and prayers for Janaina and who presents the fishermen's gifts. Anyone who intends to climb the social ladder first disassociates himself from these rites, and then publicly condemns those who participate in them—although, in many cases, such an individual will continue secretly to give financial support to a local *mãe de santo* and to send gifts to Janaina. Often it is heard of a person: 'Oh yes, he is *gente* now, but last night he secretly sent his usual present to Janaina.' Individuals of all racial classifications belong to *candomblé*, although popular opinion has it that only the *pretos* engage in these activities. One can observe all racial types at a *candomblé festa* (ceremony), either as participants or as spectators. In one case in another area of the Recôncavo there is even a white *pae de santo* (male caretaker of the gods), a former lawyer!

Nevertheless, in Vila Recôncavo, there are examples of *pretos* and *mestiços* who have shown themselves capable of progress, with and without education. Two examples are the plantation administrators, cited earlier, who have risen to that honoured and relatively well-paid occupation in spite of the fact that they cannot read or write. On another plantation, the *feitor* has taught himself to read and write and is known as an excellent story-teller. Primary schools were recently opened in the rural zone of Vila Recôncavo, and night schools for the adults. The response has been great, people often walking long distances at night to attend class, in spite of the fact that one of the most disliked and feared things is going out at night.

In Vila Recôncavo, there has been a central primary school for many years, with an attendance of 354 of all racial types, children of the whites as well as those of the others, although no children of the

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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to slaves morning and evening, at the commencement and close of their day's labor."[79] Mathison noted that "on Sunday large numbers of slaves may be seen in the churches, particularly females."[80] For the exclusive worship of the Negroes, certain saints—Nossa Senhora do Rosario, São Benedito, and Santa Efigenia—were set aside, and their images were often, and still are today, painted black. Numerous *irmandades* composed entirely of Negroes were organized, usually under the patronage of São Benedito and Nossa Senhora do Rosario,[81] and in Bahia, at least, these all-Negro organizations persist to the present day. Koster, writing about 1800, tells us:

> The ambition of the slave very generally aims at being admitted into one of these Irmandades, and at being made one of the officers and directors of the concerns of the brotherhood. Even some of the money which the industrious slave is collecting for the purpose of purchasing his freedom, will often times be brought out of its concealment for the decoration of a saint, that the donor may become of importance in the society to which he belongs.[82]

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In 1848 Henry Bates noted that on an estate called Caripí, near Pará, the Christmas festival "was celebrated by the Negroes of their own free will, and in a very pleasing manner."

> The room next to the one I had chosen was the *capella*, or chapel. It had a little altar which was neatly arranged, and the room was furnished with a magnificent brass chandelier. Men, women, and children were busy in the chapel all day on the 24th of December, decorating the altar with flowers and strewing the floor with orange leaves. They invited some of their neighbors to the evening prayers; and when the simple ceremony began, an hour before midnight, the chapel was

[79] Mawe, *op. cit.*, p. 115; cf. also Mathison, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[80] *Op. cit.*, pp. 156–57.

[81] Cf. Ribeiro, *op. cit.*, p. 255. [82] *Op. cit.*, I, 199–200.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

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African costumes, songs, and dances.[87] The Catholic church was never in haste, it seems, to assimilate the Brazilian Negro but adopted instead a patient and tolerant policy which in the end was eminently successful. Early in the nineteenth century Koster wrote from Pernambuco, "No compulsion is resorted to, to make the Negroes embrace the habits of their masters; but their ideas are insensibly led to imitate and adopt them."[88]

As might be expected, the transition from fetish-cult ideas and practices to Catholic ritual and belief was marked by intermediary stages in which elements of both religions coexisted in the Negroes' thought and practice, and the objects of one cult were identified with objects of a similar nature in the other. Hence, the extensive identification, for instance, of several African *orixás* with certain Catholic saints (as we shall later see in greater detail) and the coexistence of African and European forms in the principal religious and popular festivals.

Thus, in 1852, a visitor wrote from Rio de Janeiro:

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> For many nights past, Gloria Hill . . . . has echoed till a late hour with the songs, the wild music, and the tread of the dance in the Negroes' favorite amusements; and yesterday afternoon, I accidentally became a spectator of a grand gathering of this kind. It was "Twelfth" or "King's Day," as sometimes called—being that commemorative of the adoration of the Magi in the stable of Bethlehem; and it is a chief festival with the Negroes. . . . . When about half way up the Larangeiras . . . . my attention was arrested by a large gathering of Negroes within an enclosure by the wayside, engaged in their native dances, accompanied by the wild and rude music brought with them from Africa. . . . . Many of the principal performers, both among the dancers and musicians, were dressed in the most . . . . grotesque manner. . . . . A majority, if not all the performers, were baptized

[87] *Ibid.* [88] *Op. cit.*, I, 200.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
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testy manner, was clearly represented by a young black from Sabará. On his right sat the captain of war, the Premier; on his left the young Prince, his son and heir. Of course the buffoon of the Dahomean court was there, and the fun consisted in kicking and cuffing him as if he were one of our clowns. . . . . The "play" was a representation of . . . . a slave hunt; the march, accompanied with much running about and clashing of swords, which all handled like butcher's knives; the surprise, dragging in prisoners, directions to put to death recreant ministers and warriors, poisonings and administering antidotes. . . . . His Majesty freely used his staff, threshing everybody right regally. The speeches were delivered in a singsong tone; the language was Hamitico-Lusan, and there was an attempt at cadence and rhyme. Slaughtering the foeman and drinking his blood were the favorite topics, varied by arch allusions to the Superintendent and his guests.[93]

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But the "Kings of the Congo," says Koster,

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also worship Nossa Senhora do Rosario; and are dressed in the dress of white men. They and their subjects dance, it is true, after the manner of their country; but to these festivals are admitted Africans of other nations, creole blacks, and mulattoes, all of whom dance after the same manner; and these dances are now as much the national dances of Brazil, as they are of Africa.

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Shortly after 1800 Maria Graham, visiting a plantation in the interior of Rio de Janeiro Province, wrote:

While we were sitting by the sugar-mill presses, Dona Mariana (mistress of the *engenho*) desired the slave women, who were supplying the canes, to sing, and they began at first with some of their own wild African airs, with words adopted at the moment to suit the occasion. She then told them to sing their hymns to the Virgin; when, regularly in tune and time, and with some sweet voices, the evening and other hymns were sung.[94]

[93] Burton, *op. cit.*, I, 237–38. For further information see Mario de Andrade, "*Os Congos*," *Lanterna Verde*, No. 2 (February, 1935), pp. 36–53; Francisco Augusto Pereira da Costa, "Rei do Congo," *Jornal do Brasil* (Rio), August 25, 1901.

[94] *Op. cit.*, p. 282.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
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The dances *dos Congos* became attached to the Catholic festivals of São Benedito and Nossa Senhora do Rosario. In Bahia the annual *lavagem* ("washing") of the church of Bomfim became "a Yoruba religious ceremony" and, as late as 1900, was "a living cult, O Senhor do Bomfim[95] being for the Africans, the creole Negroes and the mixed-bloods of the Nagô *seita*,[96] Obatalá[97] himself."[98] The Cucumbys[99] became attached in Bahia to the Catholic festivals of Epiphany and Christmas.

[95] The saint to whom the Church of Bomfim (in Itapagipe) is consecrated is known as O Senhor do Bomfim, and his image is prominently displayed in the church. To evaluate more fully the important role of this famous church to which pilgrimages are still regularly made from long distances, see Carlos Alberto de Carvalho, *Tradições e milagres do Bomfim* (Bahia, 1915); João Varella, *Na Bahia do Senhor do Bomfim* (Bahia, 1936); and Manoel Raymundo Querino, *A Bahia de outrora* (Bahia, 1922), pp. 117–30, 222–31.

[96] The fetish-cult is sometimes called the *seita* (sect).

[97] Obatalá is one of the more important *orixás*, or deities, of the fetish cult. See chap. x.

[98] Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

[99] Moraes describes the Cucumbys of Rio as follows: "After a sumptuous meal of *cucumbe*, which is a dish eaten by the Congos and Munhambanas on the days of the circumcision of their sons, a group of Negroes set out to take to the Queen her new vassals who have just passed through this species of savage baptism. The procession, made up of princes and princesses, soothsayers and magicians, interpreters of foreign languages, and a host of other people, and conducting between two lines of gay celebrants the *mametos*—those who have just been circumcized with the bamboo splinter—is attacked on the way by an enemy tribe and the King's son killed by an arrow. When the procession finally reaches the King's dwelling-place, they find that the King, having heard of his son's death from a messenger, has already sent for a famous diviner, the most celebrated *feiticeiro* (witch-doctor) of the kingdom, of whom he demands, immediately upon his arrival, the resuscitation of the dead prince. To the divinations of this magician, the youth finally responds and gets to his feet. The dances then continue for some time, until the noisy ceremony ends with the Cucumbys singing the *Bemdito* and other popular refrains" (Mello Moraes Filho, *Festas e tradições populares* [Rio, 1888], p. 157, quoted in Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 272–73).

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

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tics, as similarly were tales of the tortoise.[132] Boisterous children were quieted with stories of the Kibungo, a terrifying creature, half-man, half-animal, with an enormous hole in the middle of its back which opened ominously when the creature lowered its head.[133] The Kibungo was especially fond, it is said, of visiting the houses in which naughty boys lived, announcing his presence with:

> De quem é esta casa?
> auê
> como gérê, como gérê
> como érá.[134]

Max Schmidt observed in Matto Grosso that many of the local practices connected with cattle-raising were of African origin, as similarly were the iron instruments in use there. Eschwege contends that ironworking was learned in Brazil from imported Africans.[135]

[132] See Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, pp. 282–83.

[133] *Ibid.*, pp. 301–3.

[134] Whose is this house?
auê
I eat *gérê*, I eat *gérê*
I eat *érá*.

[135] Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala*, pp. 220–21. It is also probable that certain microbes were unwittingly brought to Brazil in the bodies of imported Africans. See Octavio de Freitas, *Doenças africanas no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1935).

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

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presiding in accordance with the varying subjects under consideration, were seated erudite *doutores* from lecture-room and laboratory; huge *filhas de santo*;[7] aged Negro cooks who brought from . . . . the crude kitchens of their mud huts recipes of . . . . Afro-Brazilian dishes; Negroes from the cane fields (like Jovino, whose paper was as full of errors in Portuguese as of *saudades* of the time of the *almanjarras*);[8] . . . . *babalorixás*[9] like Pae Anselmo; queens of the *maracatú*[10] like Albertina de Fleury, whose name reminded José Lins do Rego[11] of the heroine of a romance by Proust; certain others who, although illiterate or semiliterate, had such intimate knowledge of Afro-Brazilian matters as to be able to make an appreciable contribution to the Congress; students of law, engineering, and medicine . . . . ; elderly folklorists like Rodrigues de Carvalho, who never missed a session . . . . ; individuals like Nobrega da Cunha, who knew intimately the ritual of the *macumba*;[12] psychiatrists of the ability and reputation of Ulysses Pernambucano, who was acclaimed with all justice Honorary President; artists like Luis Jardim and Cicero Dias; intellectuals, journalists, and special representatives of Rio newspapers; the teacher, Ernani Braga, who collected for the Congress a number of invocations to Xangô[13] sung by the young ladies of the Conservatorio on the closing day of school to the enthusiastic applause of the best people of Recife. Individuals

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[7] *Filhas de santo* are ceremonial dancers of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

[8] On the sugar plantations of colonial Brazil the beam to which animals were hitched to turn the millstone and crush the cane was called the *almanjarra*.

[9] Priests of the fetish cult are sometimes called *babalorixás*. The word is formed from the Nagô words *bábá* ("father") and *orixá* ("deity").

[10] The *maracatú* was an organization of Negroes which formerly participated in Carnival at Recife (see Mario Sette, *Maxambombas e maracatús* [São Paulo, n.d.], pp. 339–41).

[11] José Lins do Rego is a noted Brazilian novelist whose realistic accounts of lower-class life, particularly in the state of Pernambuco, have helped to reveal a level of culture about which little had previously been written. See, e.g., his *Bangué* (Rio, 1934); *Menino de engenho* (2d ed.; Rio, 1934); *Usina* (Rio, 1936); *Histórias da velha Totonia* (Rio, 1936); *Pureza* (Rio, 1937); *Pedra Bonita* (Rio, 1938); *Doidinho* (Rio, n.d.).

[12] The Afro-Brazilian fetish cult is known in Rio de Janeiro as the *macumba*.

[13] Xangô (pronounced "Shàn-go") is a deity of the fetish cult (see chap. x).

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

815
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Ohum Eniadûdû[19]
Recipes for Afro-Brazilian *Quitutes*[20]
The *Calunga*[21] of the Maracatûs
The "People's Library" and the "Modern Collectanea"[22]

Obviously, there is implied in these titles no interest other than in history and ethnology. But in the following ten papers, although there again appears to be no concern with problems of racial accommodation, one does note an awareness of physical differences and an interest in their measurement.

Some Anthropological Measurements of the Population of Recife
Some Data on the Physical Characteristics of the Population of Recife
Some Physical Measurements of Brazilian Negroes and Mulattoes
A Study of Cephalic Indices and Color Variation among Mulattoes in Pernambuco
A Contribution to the Study of Lapicque's Index
Physical Measurements of Negro Students
Comparative Heights and Weights of Newborn *Branco*, *Pardo*, and *Preto* Babies
A Statistical Study of Longevity in *Brancos*, *Pardos*, and *Pretos*
The Comparative Incidence of Tuberculosis in *Pretos* and *Brancos*
Mental Disease among the Negroes of Pernambuco

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[19] Under this title two topics were considered: (1) legends from Dahomey and (2) Anamburucú (an Afro-Brazilian deity [see chap. x]).

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[20] *Quitutes* are food delicacies.

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[21] The *calunga* referred to here was a richly adorned female image representing a water deity. It was carried by the "Dama do Passo," a female dancer of the Maracatû.

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[22] The "Modern Collectanea" and the "People's Library" are two sets of inexpensive leaflets containing ballads and other folklore, historical sketches, anecdotes, prayers, recipes, etc. See, in this connection, Jorge Amado, "Literatura dos negros e mulatos da Bahia," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal de São Paulo*, XLVIII (June, 1938), 179–82.

[214]

4; Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazillans SOll

789 head. The wearing of *patuás*, or written prayers, is presumed to "close the body" (*fechar o corpo*) against disease or accident. The nut known as *chapeu de Napoleão* ("Napoleon's hat"), if worn on a string about the neck, similarly is reputed to possess magical power.[77] A cord of deerskin passed over the affected area is presumed to cure erysipelas; a string of white beads worn about the neck of a mother is thought to increase the flow of her milk; a cord tied tightly about the waist of a pregnant woman will, it is believed, "keep the baby from going to the head"; and a stone in the hair is thought to retard delivery. Considered particularly efficacious in all cases of illness is the "*itá* of Xangô."[78]

782 "Prayers," or the use of magical words or phrases over an
755 affected part of the body, are also extensively employed. A common belief is that the *pae de santo* can in this way cure snakebite.

782 The direct intervention of a deity may be invoked as
• [776] when presents are made to the *mães d'agua* (female deities who are presumed to inhabit bodies of water) to remove illness or misfortune or to assure future success. Thus, fisher-

[77] At the children's clinic a black mother brought in a child very ill. About his neck was a cord suspending a *chapeu de Napoleão*. To the physician's query, the mother replied, "They said it would make him well. Everyone told me to use it, and I didn't know."

755 [78] *Itás* (Tupi equivalent of "rocks" or "stones") of Xangô, or, as they are
778 also called, *pedras* of Santa Barbara, are thought to have fallen from heaven during thunderstorms. They are said to have penetrated into the earth seven *braças* (2.2 meters) and to have returned to the surface after seven
[554] years. The person so fortunate as to find one of these stones is considered a highly privileged individual. The *itá* is used by the *pae de santo* to crush the leaves of certain medicinal plants which are then put, together with the yolk of an egg, into a vessel and mixed, while an invocation in Nagô, known as *etutu*, is intoned. The stone is then covered with the crushed leaves and egg yolk and allowed to stand for a period of time. The liquid prepared in this way is considered to possess miraculous healing power.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazillans SOll

782

men, anxious for a good year's catch, or individuals wishing to be rid of some illness, to obtain employment, or to secure a satisfactory resolution of unrequited love, will purchase foods, wearing apparel, toilet articles, jewelry, and other gifts pleasing to a lady and place them with appropriate ceremonies in a body of water presumed to be inhabited by one of the *mães d'agua*. Particularly sacred are the waters of [778] Mar Grande, off the island of Itaparica, where, a few years [823] ago, a saddle horse, it is said, was presented to Yemanjá; Mont'serrat and Cabeceiras da Ponte, on opposite sides of Itapagipe; Baiutê,[39] near the village of Itapoan; and Mariquita, near Rio Vermelho.[39] Parents of twins make regular [845] food and drink offerings to the twin-deities, the Beji, or [776] Cosme and Damião. Omolú, the "*orixá* of smallpox," is believed to protect not only against the ravishes of this disease

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[39] A foreigner was swimming in Baiutê when a passer-by, seeing him, shouted excitedly, "What are you doing in there? Don't you know that that water is charmed (*encantado*)? You might even turn into a fish. Haven't you seen the white swans? They say that they are two people who once swam here." For accounts of public offerings to the *mães d'agua* see *Estado da Bahia* for June 19 and September 23, 1936; *A Tarde* (Bahia), February 3, 1938.

[39] A letter headed, "Every Vow Fulfilled up to the End of the Year, 1936," [539] and addressed to "Our Lady of Mont'serrat, the Mistress of the Sea, Janaina," was found in the bay near Mont'serrat. It read:

To my Godmother:

I promise you, my Lady of Mont'serrat, that if you arrange it so that I can marry Domingos Portella, I will give you a present worth fifty milreis. And on the second of February I will put in another present according to my means. If possible, I will give you thirty milreis, and if not I will give you at least twenty. As large a present as I have I will give you on February 2, from twenty milreis up. My Godmother, I promise thee that the day of my marriage to Domingos Portella will be a happy day for you also; while I shall be having a *festa* here on land, you also will be having a *festa* there in the holy sea. I will fix dishes of all that we have in the house for this day, and send them to you, with greetings from me.

Your goddaughter,

Yvonne D. L. Braga

(Letter presented here by courtesy of Friar Tomás.)

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

but also against all skin ailments, including leprosy. Particularly approachable is the deity to whom a person is dedicated. "This bad cut on my foot," remarked a *mãe de santo* dedicated to Xangô, "would not heal. So I talked it over with Xangô. He agreed to heal it, and told me what to use. It's now getting well; it's much better already."

An individual troubled by continued ill-health, business difficulties, or even bad dreams may request of the fetish-cult priest the ritual of *lavàgem das contas*, or "washing the beads." Divination is first resorted to in order to identify the *orixá* "responsible" for the difficulty. Then the beads sacred to this deity are immersed in water, a newly purchased basin being used for the purpose, and a handful of leaves also sacred to him are crushed and added. After a time, the beads are removed and washed with *sabão da costa* ("soap from the Coast"). Thus purified, they are given to the person suffering the ill fortune, who must subsequently keep them in a clay vessel and from time to time wear them about his neck.

Considered one of the most effective methods of "removing" a disease or misfortune is the *troca da cabeça*, or "changing of heads," whose purpose is to transfer the disturbing influence from the afflicted person to another individual. The ritual varies. The afflicted one may have his head rubbed with a chicken or a pigeon, which, having thus acquired the evil influence, is then killed. Or an *ebó*, or *bozó*, as it is more commonly called, may be prepared,[1] and the affliction purposely transferred to another individual by leav-

[1] The *bozó* almost always includes a dead hen, popcorn, manioc meal with *azeite de dendê*, pieces of clothing from the one to be benefited, nickel or copper coins, certain African foods like *acassá*, *aberém*, and *acarajé*, and, if available, the African fruits, the *obí* and the *orobó*, of ritualistic significance.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

tice, now not so common as formerly but still occurring, of forsaking a dwelling-place in which some member of the family has died. "Visions" are commonly reported. A *preto* related:

> Once as I was working, I suddenly noticed an old friend, together with another man, standing by me, both of them "out of the flesh." My friend spoke and asked me how I was. I told him I was "so-so." Then he said, "Did you know that Fernando was dead?" I didn't, but, sure enough, I found out the next day that he had died that very morning.

One finds in many individuals an absolute credulity in folk tale and folk myth. Thus to many a Bahian of the lower classes the *lobishomem*, the *caipora*, the *mula de padre*, and the *biatáld* are actual entities which he himself, or someone known to him, has supposedly seen or heard.

The *lobishomem* (werewolf), credulity in which is also common to large areas of Europe, is said at Bahia to roam about on moonlight nights, preferably on Fridays, with dogs following him. He takes the form of a man, very pallid, with an enormous shock of hair and long fingernails. Coming up behind a traveler or sneaking into the house after a child, he grasps his victim and sucks his blood. A person "very yellow" from malaria is thought to be in danger of turning into a *lobishomem*. If a family has seven sons and no daughters, the first-born is believed liable to develop into one of these creatures unless he is made co-padre with his parents at the baptism of the seventh child. The hour of such transformation is midnight sharp. A house servant remarked:

> When I was a small boy, I knew a man who turned into a *lobishomem*. There in my country, near Joazeiro [state of Bahia]. He had killed his father and his mother. He always went around with his head down, very sad and very pale. The children called him *chico-bicho* and ran and hid from him. Every Friday night he turned into a

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

776 754 beast and wandered about. We knew he did, for a man who was passing a dark spot on the road late one night saw him; but when he took out his knife and started after him, the beast fled. The *lobishomem* was covered all over with hair and looked horrible. Other people saw him too, running around on all fours. The dogs always barked on Friday nights something terrible. On Saturday morning this man appeared dusty and more pale than usual. He never caught any children because they were all careful to stay in the house during the hours when he was out. But he caught many dogs and cats. He merely sucked their blood; he did not eat them. People found the bodies later, with all the blood drained out.

776 *Mulas de padre* are reputedly the concubines of priests who, transformed into headless animals, run about at night, preferably on Fridays. Covered with noise-making instruments, such as bells, *chocalhos*, and kitchen utensils, they are said to make "an infernal racket" which can be heard as much as a mile away and "makes one's blood run cold."

[177] The *caipora* and the *biatâtá* are probably survivals of Indian lore. The former is a creature thought to inhabit timbered areas, where he is peculiarly fond of leading people astray. When a person is lost, the *caipora* "may make him pass right by the path and never see it." The *caipora* calls out to the unfortunate person and leads him further and further astray. Of female sex, an animal some say, a half-body cut perpendicularly from crown to crotch according to others, the *caipora* may be driven away if one smokes tobacco, takes snuff, or chews garlic.

776 781 A young *pardo* shoemaker, having become by reason of his schooling somewhat skeptical of tales of the *lobishomem* and of the *mula de padre*, insisted, however, that

the *caipora* is real. Just as a blow on your arm will leave a red mark, the *caipora* has left signs of himself. I know a Portuguese immigrant, a man upright and truthful, who was warned not to hunt on Fridays. He laughed at the warning, and went on into the timber in search of

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

jacús, found one, and shot at it. The *jacú* flew at him with its claws extended and severely scratched him. He shot at it again. It flew back and clawed at his eyes. Then he heard a voice, saying "You know you must not hunt on Fridays." It was the *caipora*. The man staggered home, and fell senseless in the door of his house. I knew this man well.

The *biatáid* is said to be a woman who inhabits the sea, appearing above water only at night, gradually increasing in size until she assumes an enormous shape, and "casting a huge and frightening shadow."

Fear of the toad, probably also a survival of Indian belief, is common.[39] If a toad happens to hop into the door of a house, the occupant will immediately grab a broom and sweep it out, repeating over and over, "Creio em Deus Padre."[40] If a malicious person paints a toad on the wall of a dwelling, its occupants will at once desert the place.

The following account reveals in an intimate way the mental world of a considerable portion of the Bahian lower class. It was related by a young Negro woman in the form of a series of personal experiences and is presented here in as nearly as possible the exact phrasing in which it was originally given.

I was three years old. I was sitting with my mother when something hit me, and I fell over unconscious. She picked me up and took me to a doctor. He gave me medicine and said that it was congestion. Some thought it was the *ar do vento*.

I knew nothing of what was going on; it was as if I were dead. To

[39] "Montoya says ('Manuscripto guarani da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro sobre a primitiva catechese dos Indios das Missões,' *Annaes da Bibliotheca National*, Vol. VI) that among Indians observed by him, the entrance of a toad into a gathering of people was a sign of the approaching death of one of those present" (Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* [3d ed.; Rio, 1936], p. 99).

[40] "I believe in God, the Father."

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

158
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When I was sixteen years old I went across the river to live in São Felix. There was a man there who was crazy. We asked what was the matter with him, and they said that he had seven Exú's[47] in his body. They had given him a cigar and when he began to smoke, he became wild. He was nearly insane. He did not want to hear the word of God. When they talked of going to Mass, he wanted to run away. They took him and tied him up. He stayed this way two whole weeks. Once in a while his relatives came to see him. Finally, they decided to take him to a *candomblé*. They untied him and he went. For a long time he remained there and kept on acting the same way. Then the head of the *candomblé* took a hand in the matter. He ordered them to get black cloth, candles, *azeite de dendê*, incense, and several other things which he needed. After he had finished, he gave the man a bath to clean him up. When twelve o'clock came, he stretched him out in the middle of the floor. And there he lay all sprawled out. We saw a black Negro with red lips sitting on his knee. He was about this high [indicating approximately two and one-half feet], and as black as coal. His lips were as red as the lid of that can [indicating a *matte* container with bright red cover]. He had large ears that stuck out like this [indicating about a twelve-inch spread]. He was horrible. His horns were this long [indicating about six inches]. And his tail, about a meter. His eyes were big, like this [indicating an oval three inches in diameter]. They were the size of "three children."[48] His tongue looked like a snake's; it was really four separate tongues. And he was sitting there on the man's knee. We were all afraid. We wanted to run; but we dared not. He didn't stay long. Only about ten minutes. He left the man's knee and disappeared into the body of the man who had bought and brought the "things." The *pae de santo* filled up a basin, and Exú took himself away. We did not see him disappear. Ten minutes later the man got up, feeling better. He had been sitting there crying hard. They shaved off his hair, washed his head and painted it with a pencil, white, blue, pink, and lavender. Then they

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[47] Exú (pronounced "Ä-shu") is an African deity who is often, although not always, thought of as possessing an evil nature. See chap. x.

[48] This expression was explained in the following manner: "A person looking into an ordinary eye sees the image of one child; in Exú's eyes the image was three times as big."

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

158
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put many beads of O Senhor do Bomfim on him, and a *figa;* they covered him with ornaments.

[789] The *figa* is to free one from the evil eye. For example: I have a dress. You think it is pretty, and you want it very much; something [754] then happens to it. Or a *sabiá*[40] sings beautifully. You are visiting its owner; you want it, you want it very badly. You leave, and it dies or something else happens to it because you cannot have it. This is the evil eye. One needs to "pray it away" with *Guiné, Arruda,* or *Vassourinha Doce.* An oxhorn in the garden will keep it away from plants.

[794] Then the man went around with hands folded, "taking the blessing" from everyone there. Seven children went out with lighted can- [776] dles. Then he got up entirely well. Today he has a *casa de candomblé.* [793] He is now very old. His *orixá* is Ogum de Gêge. The *pao de santo* who treated him is of Ogum de Mina.

159 776 My guardian angel [*anjo de guarda*] is Xangô. Ogum is a soldier, Xangô is of the thunder and also of the lightning. He is Santa Barbara of the Irmandade. All the *orixás* are equal. But Oxalá directs everything. Nanan is his wife. In the Gêge language she is called Odé.

159 776 784 My sister, she died, burned up. She caught all on fire. He who killed her is Oxóssi; it was he who killed her. My sister is buried in the Quinta dos Lazaros.[41] She burned to death because she disobeyed him. He sent a message and she paid no attention to it. Her husband had a *saveiro.*[41] Every trip which he made she went along in the boat. She had no children. Everywhere he went, she went too. When, one time, the *orixá* "arrived" and told her that she should not travel on the water, she didn't take his words very seriously; she laughed the matter off, "gave it a *muxóxó.*" But about a week afterward, she went with her husband in a *saveiro* across the Bay to Bahia. Between Itaparica and Salinas the *saveiro* caught afire. It had powder on it and the powder exploded. Parts of the *saveiro* were ripped off and hurled into the water. She was surrounded by fire. When they finally reached her, she was badly burned. They brought her to the Santa Isabel Hospital,

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[40] A Brazilian bird which can be trained to sing tunes.

[41] A Bahian cemetery.

[501] [41] A sturdy sailboat used on Todos os Santos Bay and its contributory rivers to transport light articles of commerce.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

159 776 784

and the next day she died. But before she died, he "arrived" and said it was he who had set fire to the *saveiro*. It was Oxóssi. Her husband also died. When one doesn't carry out his obligations [*cumpre com os seus deveres*], the *orixá* takes his life.

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Once I had a party at my house for some friends. But Xangô sent me a message that I should go to the *candomblé*. I said that I was not going because I was having a party. A little while later, while I was dancing with my friends, I suddenly got a stiffness in my legs. But I didn't pay much attention to it. Then I suddenly felt an "opening of the body" [*aperto no corpo*],[33] and I didn't know anything more. When I came to, I was dancing in the *candomblé*. When the *candomblé* was over, I went running clear to the top of Boeiros do Inferno ["Funnels of Hell"] without knowing anything about what I was doing. These are two hills called by that name because they are so high. I didn't feel anything. Afterward, Xangô beat me on the hands, and my hands swelled. When he "arrived" again, he said that I should pay more attention to him, or he would beat me some more. Once he struck me. On that day I was very tired, but I went to the *candomblé* and danced anyway.

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I dance when there is a big ceremony; I dance for hours at a time without getting tired. The spell seizes me, and sometimes I dance more than three days without feeling the least bit tired. When the *orixá* "arrives in my head," I spend a week or more "sleeping."[34] I don't feel anything. I don't see anything. People talk to me, but I don't know anything about what is going on.

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If one drinks water, the *orixá* doesn't "arrive." For instance, one feels cold. That cold is in the body. The *orixá* wants "to arrive." Then one drinks water. He who is of the *preceito* does not drink water. And whoever drinks, breaks the *preceito*. It is prayed ten times.[35]

[33] A "trembling of the body," signifying that the *orixá* wished to enter and to "manifest himself" in human form. See chap. x.

[34] That is, moving about, but unconscious of what is happening.

[35] That is, by taking a drink of water, one can presumably prevent the deity from entering the body. One must at the same time pray ten words and tap the ground ten times. In this way, the *preceito* (i.e., the control of the deity over one) is broken.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

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I stayed only seven days in the *casa*,[15] because my head was washed. Others spend three months there, lying down all the time. They lie awhile on one side, then on the other, and then face down. One takes a bath in water perfumed with sacred leaves. Every day. The bath is cold, very cold. You must change your clothes and the bed linen every day. It isn't in a real bed that one lies down. They put a mat on the floor, and you have only a pillow and a sheet. You can move, but only from one side to the other, never over on your back. During the time you are in the *camarinha*, you cannot see your relatives. You may see them only on the day you leave. But then you must go at four in the morning and return at four in the evening so that the dew will not fall on your head.

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There may be others in the *camarinha*. Sometimes many others. All of them stay in the same room. They sleep with their heads together. If there are ten, there will be space for all ten. While they are in the *camarinha*, they do not attend ceremonies.

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I did not go through all this because my head did not have to be shaved. I had my *orixá* from birth. When I came into this world, he already knew everything.[16] My *pae de santo* has "worked" with many people. Last week he was here in Fazenda Grande.

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When my *orixá* took possession of me, I quit eating he-goat. Because of the taboo of the *orixá* one cannot eat certain things. During all my life I cannot eat he-goat, because of the taboo. Neither can I eat turtle. For he who is of Xangô does not eat either he-goat or turtle. He who is of Ogum must not eat sheep's meat. Some *filhas* must not eat fruit; others must not eat fish *de couro*, only those fish which have scales. Crabs cannot be eaten by some, nor the leaf of Ogum. Water may be drunk, but only that which is drawn at 4:00 A.M., before the sun rises.

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White maize must be eaten by some, depending on the *orixá*. For every *orixá* of every nation[17] has his own food. There is the food of Odé. There is that of Xangô, which is mutton.

[15] The period during which the candidate is initiated into her new function is spent within the sacred room, or *camarinha*, of the *candomblé* center.

[16] That is, he "knew" that she would be consecrated to him.

[17] That is, of each type of *candomblé*: Gêge-Nagô, Congo, Angolo, *de caboclo*.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

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845 270 NEGROES IN BRAZIL
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My sister is preparing *carurú*. She has twin boys. When God gives you twins, you are obliged to present *carurú* to Cosme and Damião. If you fail to do this, someone in the house will die that year.

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If one were now to set down an account of the personal experiences of an upper-class Bahian, it would reveal an entirely different mental world. In general content it would reflect a culture distinctly European. Dress, music, food and food habits, forms of religious expression, sacred specialists, means of exercising control over personal destiny, and the ideas, attitudes, sentiments, points of view, and philosophy of life associated with them would, in general, not vary from those commonly characteristic of individuals of European origin wherever found.

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This variation at Bahia in cultural identification between the Europeans, on the one hand, and the *Africanos*, on the other—this difference in ideas, attitudes, and sentiments—obviously erects serious barriers to intercommunication and consequently retards the development of a body of common understandings upon which the moral solidarity of any society is built. Although most of the Bahian blacks have now to a considerable extent sloughed off their former cultural identity with Africa and have been more or less completely incorporated into the European world, a remnant of *Africanos* still live, in spite of contiguity in space with the Europeans, to a considerable extent culturally apart.

As will be evident in greater detail in the following chapter, the Europeans tend to look upon the beliefs and the practices of the *Africanos* as matters for ridicule, scorn, disparagement, and condemnation. They are thought of as queer, bizarre, unintelligible, inferior forms of behavior.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

CHAPTER X

THE *CANDOMBLE*

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AMONG the last elements of African culture to disappear at Bahia are the customs and traditions associated with the expression of religious sentiment. The *candomblé*, or Afro-Brazilian fetish cult, is still a vigorous institution and numbers among its adherents some of the most widely known and respected members of the Bahian lower classes. Its leaders, in several conspicuous instances, are able and intelligent individuals, whose prestige extends even into the upper circles. Some *seitas*, or cult centers, have maintained the same temple of worship for generations. Their rituals and ceremonies are serious, dignified, and carried on according to definite, fixed, traditional forms.

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This highly complex organization of ritual and belief is built around an order of *orixás*, or deities, each of whom apparently personifies some natural phenomenon. Thus, of the more important and more widely honored deities, Xangô is worshiped as the *orixá* of lightning and thunder; Ogun, of war and iron; Oxossi, of the hunt; Omolú, of pestilence; Nanan, of rain; Yemanjá, of salt water; Oxun, of fresh water; Yansan, of wind and storm; Oxun-manrê, of the rainbow; and Beji, of twin births.

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The older and more respected *seitas* are commonly considered to be of Nagô (Yoruba) or Gêge (Ewe) origin or represent a fusion in Brazil of these two apparently closely related bodies of African ritual and belief.[1] In details of lan-

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[1] Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 320.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazillans SOll

cated to the *orixá* Ogun, the special ceremonial season begins with the second week in September and concludes with the first week in December. During this period ceremonies are held every Sunday, each dedicated to one or more of the *orixás*. The first ceremony is in honor of Oxalá; the second, of Oxagian ("Oxalá the Younger"); and the following three, of Ogun. Succeeding Sundays are dedicated, respectively, to Xangô, Oxun, Oxóssi, Yemanjá, and Yansan. On the eleventh Sunday and the subsequent Monday special honor is paid to Omolú, and on the following Sunday and Monday, to all of the *mães d'agua*. On the final Sunday a *feijoada* (a Brazilian food delicacy) is offered, with elaborate ritual, to Ogun. In addition to this regular season, special ceremonies are held from time to time throughout the year, with the exception of the Lenten period, when all *candomblé* activity is suspended.

The Gêge-Nagô and the Congo-Angola pantheons contain about the same number of deities, or approximately a hundred *orixás* each. The *caboclo* pantheon has perhaps a score less. Each *orixá* possesses his proper fetish, insignia, sacred day, sacred foods, sacred colors, sacred dress (including bracelets and beads peculiar to himself), and a distinguishing cry. Today, only in rare instances are the fetishes carved images; more often they are polished stones which have been worn smooth by the waters of a river or of the sea. They are carefully cared for in the *pegi*, or sanctuary, by a special functionary who at regular intervals washes them and replenishes the food and drink offerings placed before them.

In some *seitas* Oxalá is considered the most important of the deities; in others, Xangô; and, in still others, Omolú or, as he is sometimes called, Xapanan. Olorun, "the father of the *orixás*," is almost forgotten today in Bahia, although

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

794
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[178]

occasionally one meets an older *Africano* who thinks of Olorun as "the creator of all the other *orixás*." Each is thought to have his home in Africa, and when one inquires of a black how the *orixás* can come so far to eat and drink the offerings set out for them, the answer is always easy, "They are summoned, and they come at once."

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Each *orixá* is presumed on occasion to "manifest himself" in human form and to speak his will. Such "manifestation" is accomplished by "arriving in the head" of an individual who has been dedicated to him. His "presence" is attested by an abnormal psychic state accompanied by violent, spasmodic muscular movements, particularly of the neck, shoulder, and back muscles. Seizure ordinarily takes place during ceremonial dances, but occasionally (quite rare today) it may occur spontaneously while the individual is alone and about his work. Subsequently, the one in whom the *orixá* has "arrived" and "manifested himself" is unaware of what has transpired.

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The name, sex, personification, fetish, insignia, sacred foods, sacred dress, sacred ornaments, sacred day, and identifying call of the principal Gêge-Nagô *orixás* at Bahia are as given in Table 15.

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Each *seita* is presided over by a priest or priestess known as the *pae de santo* or *mãe de santo* (literally, the "father" or "mother" of the *orixás*). His (or her) most important functions are to identify a "manifesting" deity, supervise the initiation of the ceremonial dancers in whom an initial "manifestation" has occurred, perform the sacred ritual designed to "fix" the *orixá* in the fetish, supervise the sacrifices, and preside at public ceremonies. He may also exercise, to some extent at least, the office of an *olhador*, or diviner, who "throws the Ifá" to determine in advance the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 284]

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

PRINCIPAL *Orixás* OF THE GÊGE-NAGÔ FETISH CULTS AT BAHIA

Name	Sex	Personification	Fetish	Insignia	Sacred Foods	Dress	Beads	Bracelet	Sacred Day	Call
Oxalá (Orixá-lá, Obatalá)*	M,F	(?)	Lead ring, cowries	Shepherd's staff with small bells	She-goat, pigeon	White	White	White beads, lead	Friday	Tremulous groan
Xangô	M	Lightning	Meteorite	Lance, hatchet	Cock, turtle, he-goat, *carurú*	Principal color: red	Red and white	Brass	Wednesday	*hay-ee-ee*
Ogun (Ogum)	M	War, iron	Iron: hoe, anvil, scythe, spade, shovel, sledge	Lance, sword	He-goat, cock, oxhead, guinea hen	All colors	All colors	Bronze	Tuesday	*guavo-mio-fé*
Oxôssi (Oxo-ossi, Ochossi)	M	The hunt	Bow and arrow, clay skillet, stone	Bow and arrow, hunting bag, powder horn, ostail	Sheep, cock, maize	Green, yellow; trimmed with *palha da costa*	Green	Bronze	Thursday	Bark like that of a dog
Omolú (Humoulú, Omanlú, Xapanan)	M	Pestilence, especially smallpox	*Piassava* with *buzios*	Lance	He-goat, cock, *acassá*, popcorn, *orôbó*, maize with *azeite de dendê*	Red, black	Red and black, red and white	Cowries	Monday	*Aê*
Exú	M	Evil (?), mischievousness	Clay, iron, wood	?	"Eats everything that is edible"	Red, black	Red, black	Bronze	Monday†	?
Yemanjá (Iemanjá)‡	F	Salt water	Seashell	Fan, sword	Pigeon, maize, cock, castrated he-goat	Red, dark blue, rose	*pingos da agua* (transparent)	Aluminum	Saturday	*hin-hee-yo-mio*

* Also known in Gêge as Oulissa; in Angola as Cassumbeca; in Tapa as Inacoude Jegum. (The *x* in Oxalá, etc., is pronounced like *sh* in English.)

† Also the first day of any extended ceremony.

‡ In the *candomblés de caboclo*, Yemanjá is called Rainha do Mar, Dona Janaina (or simply Janaina), Dona Maria, Sereia do Mar, Princeza do Mar.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

TABLE 15—*Continued*

Name	Sex	Personification	Fetish	Insignia	Sacred Foods	Dress	Beads	Bracelet	Sacred Day	Call
Yansan (Iansan)	F	Wind, storm	Meteorite	Sword	Goat, hen, *amalá*, § *acarajé*	Principal color: red ("avoids" violet)	Red, coral	Copper, brass	Wednesday	*hay-o-o* ("softer" than Xangô)
Oxun (Oxum, Oxun)	F	Fresh water	Stone worn smooth by a river	*Abêbé* (fan), looking-glass, small bell	Fish (*toinha*), she-goat, hen, beans	?	Yellow, blue	Brass	Saturday	*hum-hum*
Anamburucú (Nanan, Nanamburucú)‖	F	Rain	Stone	Sword, small straw broom with cowries	Goat, hen, *obi*	White, dark blue	White, red and blue	Aluminum	Wednesday	*hu-hu-hu-hu*
Oxun-maré (Ochu-maré)	F	Rainbow	Stone	?	Cock, he-goat	?	Orange	?	?	?
Lôkô (Rôkô, Irôkô)	?	?	*gameleira* tree	?	Cock, tobacco, beer, white wine	All colors ¶	All colors	?	Tuesday	Low whistle
Iá	?	Future events	Fruit of the *dendê* palm	?	?	?	Green-yellow	?	?	?
Beji (Ibeji)	M	Twin births	Images of São Cosme and São Damião	?	*caruru, acassá, abará, acarajé, farofa* with *azeite de dendê*	?	?	?	?	?

§ *Amalá* is *caruru* served with rice or with gruel made from the manioc root.

‖ Also known in Gêge as Tobossi. She is "the oldest" of the *mães d'agua* (Yemanjá, Oxun, Yansan, Anamburucú, Oxun-maré).

¶ Also a straw mat or a strip of white cloth, called *ouja*, which is wrapped about the trunk of a *gameleira* tree.

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4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

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[302] Three of the dancers are *yaôs*, in process of being "made." Their heads have been shaved clean, and white spots and
[301] blue lines have been painted upon them. On their cheeks are white spots and white lines. Around the neck, or over the right shoulder and under the left arm, are long chains of large cowries imported from the West Coast.

794 In a special building with a cement floor is "the throne
346 room of Xangô." At one side is an altar to him, which is lav-
353 ishly decorated with candles and flowers, both fresh and
177 artificial. Indicating the fusion of Catholic and fetish ele-
• 776 ments, one notes on the lower step an image of Santo Antonio, on the second, one of Nossa Senhora das Candeias, on the third, an image of the twins, Cosme and Damião, and, on the top level, one of São Jeronimo. The *mãe de santo* says that Santo Antonio is "just another name" for Ogun; as similarly is Nossa Senhora das Candeias, for the water deity, Oxun; Cosme and Damião, for Beji; and São Jeronimo, for Xangô.

794 On the other side of the room is "the throne of Xangô," a
346 wooden chair, intricately carved, with a pillow for a head-
[352] rest. Suspended on the walls are pictures of several Catholic saints.

[353] In the center of an adjoining room is "the spring of the *mãe d'agua*," a huge basin built of cement and containing ten to twelve inches of water. On the wall is the Nagô inscription, "Ilé Awon Afonjá" ("House of Xangô").

794 The leader of another *seita* is a male black, known as Pae
793 Procopio, sixty-six years of age, of Gêge descent, whose
159 father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, he proudly boasts, were all Africans and *paes de santo*. His mother's sister was also "an *Africano*," but his mother was a Brazilian-born black, a *mãe de santo* who "deixou o cargo" (i.e., left the

4; Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

there is little distinction between them. The *pae de santo* of a prominent Congo *seita* recently remarked, "I do everything (i.e., I carry on all cult rituals and ceremonies) in the name of the church."[16]

On the fiftieth anniversary of the death of the father of a well-known and widely respected *babalaô*, a special commemorative Mass was arranged in one of the city's principal churches. During the ceremony, a circle of friars who were standing with lighted candles about the bier was joined by an outer circle of Negro men, each bearing a funeral torch. Although the friars were probably unaware of the fact, the blacks were all *ogans* from the *candomblé* of *mãe de santo* Anninha. In the audience were more than a hundred important personages from the fetish world, including *babalaôs*, *paes* and *mães de santo*, *ogans*, and *filhas*. Said the *babalaô* whose father was being thus honored, "Last night at the *terreiro* we danced all night the African funeral dances for my father."

In the minds of cult members several of the more important African *orixás*, as we have seen, have come to be identified with certain Catholic saints. Thus, Ogun, the *orixá* of war, is now identified with Santo Antonio; Oxóssi, the *orixá* of the hunt, with São Jorge; Oxalá, who to most members of the *candomblé* is "the greatest of the *orixás*," with O Senhor do Bomfim, who is, among the lower classes at least, the most important Catholic saint at Bahia;[17]

[16] This point of view obviously is not that of the Catholic church itself.

[17] In Bomfim Church, which, with two rows of royal palms dominating its approach, occupies majestically the crown of a hill in Itapagipe, is a special room whose walls and ceiling are completely covered with photographs or plaster casts of crippled or diseased limbs or other parts of the body which have been, it is thought, miraculously cured of disease or other infirmary by the direct intervention of the saint. So great is his reputation for healing that thousands of people from miles around visit this shrine every year.

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SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

Omolú, the *orixá* of pestilence, with São Roque, or, in some cases, with São Bento; and Exú, with Satan. Of the *mães d'agua* (water deities), Yemanjá is confused in some cases with Nossa Senhora da Piedade (Our Lady of Compassion), and in others with Nossa Senhora do Rosario (Our Lady of the Rosary); Oxun, in some cases, with Nossa Senhora das Candeias and, in others, with Nossa Senhora da Conceição (Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception); Yansan, with Santa Barbara; and Nanan (Anamburucú, Nanamburucú), with Nossa Senhora de Sant'Ana. Beji, the twins, are identified with Cosme and Damião; Irôko (Rôko, Lôko), who is presumed to dwell in the *gameleira* tree, with Poverello (São Francisco) de Assis;[18] and Ifá, the *orixá* of divination, with Santissimo Sacramento (the Most Holy Sacrament). Even Xangô, the *orixá* of lightning and thunder, to whom Edison Carneiro refers as "indisputably the most African of all the *orixás* worshiped at Bahia,"[19] and who is still thought of by some blacks as being distinct from any Catholic saint, is worshiped in several of the most representative Gêge-Nagô *seitas* under the name of São Jeronimo and, occasionally, of Santa Barbara.

The conditions which favor fusion in this last-named case are not difficult to understand. In Portuguese folklore Santa Barbara is thought of as a protector against lightning, a conception which probably led very easily to the identification of Santa Barbara in the Negroes' minds with Xangô, who is, in the African tradition, "the *orixá* of the thunderbolts." Fusion in this case, as in others, would have been aided by the common conception that each African deity is both a protector and a destroyer; a kindly protector when offered

[18] Edison Carneiro, *Religiões negras* (Rio, 1936), p. 155.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 153-54.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

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177

the proper ritual, and a vengeful destroyer if rites and taboos are ignored.

Although this fusion is proceeding rapidly, it is still far from complete. A number of Gêge-Nagô and Congo-Angola *orixás*, and at least thirty *caboclo* deities, have not yet been in any way identified with Catholic equivalents.

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Occasionally, the critical attitude of members of the fetish world toward unorthodox practices in other *seitas* extends also to the incorporation of Catholic ritual, ideas, and sentiments into fetish practice and belief. A *babalaô* and *feiticeiro*, born in Africa of repatriated Brazilian slaves, recently remarked, "These Bahian *candomblés* aren't African any more. Why, they all go to Mass, pray the rosary, and burn candles to the saints! It's all mixed up now."

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The following story illustrates the fusion of European and African traditions. Related recently by a local black, it recounts some of the experiences of Obaluaiê (Abaláu-aiê) and Omolú, known also in Bahia as Xapanan (Xapanã), and is obviously confused with the biblical stories of the Prodigal Son and of Lazarus. It also refers to a European city.

XAPANÃ, FATHER AND SON

Xapanã was fifteen years old when his parents sent him out into the world to see what life was like. After he had walked a long way, he came to a city called Venice, where he went about looking for work. But no one offered him anything, and finally, becoming very hungry, he began to go up to houses and beg for something to eat. But everywhere he asked he was turned away.

Sad and disillusioned, Xapanã continued on his way. At last he came to a forest, where he remained for some time, living on fruits and insects.

When Xapanã was nineteen years of age, he began to think of returning to his father's house and at last made himself ready and set out on the way. Xapanã walked and walked, until one day just as